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THE TABLET.

No. LXXXIX.

" All human virtue to its lateſt breath,
" Finds envy never conquer'd but by death ;
" The great ALCIDES, every labor paſt,
" Had ſtill this monſter to ſubdue at laſt."

I NEVER was acquainted with a perſon who would confeſs that any of his actions were prompted by envy. From this I infer, that every man deems it one of the moſt hateful qualities of human nature. The mind of man is ſo conſtituted that ſeveral emotions may be kindled at the ſame moment; and it may be difficult, in any given inſtance, to diſtinguiſh the component parts of a motive with ſo much preciſion, as to determine which preponderates. A perſon may be ſtimulated by envy, when he ſuppoſes himſelf free from it; and he may be ſuſpected of it, when he is, in fact, free from it. We ſhould not therefore too haſtily acquit ourſelves, or charge others, of being under the control of this deteſtable paſſion.

There is perhaps no occaſion where the ſymtoms of envy are more ſtriking, than in the oppoſition that is frequently made to conſpicuous characters. This reſtleſs agent of the ſoul darts its envenomed arrows only againſt objects of diſtinguiſhed merit. When a bad man is attacked, the aſſailant may juſtly be impelled by indignation; when a weak man is hunted down, the perſecutor may have no feelings but thoſe of contempt. But when a good and great character meets with oppoſition and reproach, envy is generally at the bottom. It may be concluded, without much riſque of error, that an envious diſpoſition gives riſe to a conſiderable part of the cenſure and calumny that are aimed againſt men in eminent ſtations. The propriety of ſuch a concluſion is obvious from the difficulty, in many inſtances, of aſſigning any other adequate cauſe or motive to induce ſlander and oppoſition. Beſides, it will generally hold true, that men in elevated employments have inducements to promote the public good, in proportion to their elevation. A man promoted to a dignified office ſhould conſider himſelf as a mark, expoſed to the ſneers of ignorance, the aſperſions of envy, and the reproaches of ill-nature. Some illuſtrious men however eſcape the effects of all the evil propenſities of their fellow men.

Mankind ſeem, as it were by common conſent, to huſh all the turbulent paſſions of the ſoul, in their treatment of thoſe few characters, to whom all men are too much endeared, to render it ſafe for any man to oppoſe or calumniate. Such favored individuals are extremely few. Moſt men who engage in public life muſt not expect to combine the affections of the whole community in their favor. And however eminent may be the knowledge or rectitude of a man, theſe excellent attributes afford no infallible ſecurity againſt the intrigues of myſterious competitors, or the invectives of avowed opponents. How great a portion of envy is intermingled in the motives which prevail on thoſe occaſions, let thoſe who obſerve the actions of men determine.

If I have been intimately acquainted with a man for years; if during this time, I have been often heard to applaud his abilities and honeſty, and ever lived on the moſt affectionate terms of friendſhip and good humor with him; and if on his being ſuddenly elevated to a ſtation far above me, I endeavor to raiſe a party againſt him by inſinuations and reproaches, do I not authoriſe a ſuppoſition that I feel an envious temper towards him? Why elſe do I ſuffer my friendſhip to become cold and diſtant; and my confidence to aſſume the appearance of diſtruſt and myſtery?—Why elſe do I check the tribute of applauſe, I have been accuſtomed to pay my friend and companion; and even depreciate thoſe qualifications which once I could not fail to admire?

If the government of the United States ſhould not be eſtabliſhed on ſuch a firm and honorable baſis, as to promote the proſperity of its citizens, and procure the reſpect of mankind, it will be owing to the prevalence of this ſame paſſion of envy, more than to any other cauſe. Rival characters cannot bear the idea of ſuperiority. No government can be reſpectable and proſperous in which eminent men do not take the lead, in their different departments. When the people of this country are convinced of the truth of this remark, they will not, I hope, loſe their circumſpection, but they will be leſs perplexed by the ſuggeſtions of envy and ſuſpicion.

THE OBSERVER.

No. XVIII.

THE report of the Secretary of the Treaſury, being now before the public, contains information which muſt remove the reluctance of ſome, who doubted the propriety of funding the debt, and re-eſtabliſhing public credit. Inſidious means have been uſed to lead the people into an opinion, that a great part of the domeſtic national debt, has been purchaſed by foreigners at its loweſt price.

In Boſton, it has been publiſhed, and ſaid to be under the ſanction of a member of Congreſs, that " the national debt is five eighths owned by foreigners, and is thus regiſtered in the treaſury of the United States." I much queſtion whether any member of Congreſs ever gave ſuch information, and ſuppoſe it rather a fabrication of deſign; but if it be true he is corrected by the treaſury report.

Many inſinuations of the ſame nature circulate, and cauſe a fear in ſome minds, that their country will be ſacrificed to the emolument of a few rich foreigners. The Secretary's report furniſhes means to detect theſe miſrepreſentations—any perſon holding national ſecurities or bonds, may have their amount regiſtered in the treaſury books, the original bonds are given up, and an account opened between the United States and the creditor, to whom is given a new certificate of the amount due to him. The debt thus modelled is called the regiſtered debt. Many of our citizens have regiſtered their national paper, and it is well known that all purchaſed for foreigners or to ſend abroad on adventure, hath been entered on the treaſury books in this manner.

By the Secretary's report we find that the whole domeſtic debt of the United States, is

	Dollars.	Cents.
	42,414,085	94
The whole regiſtered debt is,	4,598,462	78

The regiſtered debt is not one ninth part of the whole, and only a part of this is owned by foreigners.

Several gentlemen of veracity, who are profeſſionally acquainted with the circulation of paper, and the manner of its negociation, inform me that by enquiry at the regiſter office, three months paſt, conſiderable leſs than 3,000,000 dollars had been regiſtered on account of foreigners; but ſuppoſe three millions of dollars is the ſum, this is but one fourteenth part of the national debt.—The debt of the particular States hath not to my knowledge, unleſs it be within a few weeks paſt, ever been purchaſed for foreign adventure, and if this be conſidered as part of the national debt, which it ought to be both in juſtice and policy, not more than one twenty ſeventh part of the whole is veſted in foreign owners, and a conſiderable proportion of this was taken by them, either in payment of debts due, or at a price of purchaſe much higher than it has been in the country.

Some perſons have laboriouſly circulated an idea, of a prodigious foreign ſale of paper, to prejudice the minds of the people againſt a funding ſyſtem; but I think ſuch attempts baſe and diſhoneſt; even allow the facts, ſuch as they wiſh to repreſent, it would be unfortunate for the country, but is no ſubſtantial argument againſt funding the debt. Juſtice ſtands on fixed principles, not on a man's complection, the tone of his voice, or the country in which he was born. Other things being alike, that which is juſtice to a native citizen is alſo juſtice to a foreigner.

The quantity of regiſtered debt, is alſo ſome guide to determine the ſum, which hath been alienated by the original holders at a low price. The brokers and great ſpeculators in paper, in the middle States; where moſt of this traffic hath been managed, have regiſtered in the treaſury much the larger part of the ſums purchaſed by them, and the whole of this we ſee to be a ſum, comparatively ſmall.

The alienations which have taken place between citizens removed from the courſe of ſpeculation, have generally been at a price much nearer the original value. Continued examination of this ſubject gives me new conviction, that the alienations which have happened are far leſs than many ſuppoſe. I do not mention this as ſuppoſing it a matter which ought to influence in the proviſion of funds, but if eaſe can be given, in conſiſtency with truth, to thoſe perſons whoſe opinion is different from mine, they ought to receive it.

In the Secretary's report there is an argument for the re-eſtabliſhment of national credit, which I do not remember to have before ſeen publicly noticed—he ſays, " The effect, which the funding of the public debt, on " right principles, would have upon landed property, is one of the cir- " cumſtances attending ſuch an arrangement, which has been leaſt at- " tended to, tho it deſerves the moſt particular attention. The preſent " depreciated ſtate of that ſpecies of property is a ſerious calamity. The " value of cultivated lands in moſt of the States has fallen ſince the revo- " lution from 35 to 50 per cent. In thoſe fartheſt ſouth the decreaſe is " ſtill more conſiderable. Indeed if the repreſentations continually re- " ceived from that quarter, may be credited, lands there will command " no price, which may not be deemed an almoſt total ſacrifice. This de- " creaſe in the value of lands, ought, in a great meaſure, to be attributed " to the ſcarcity of money. Conſequently whatever produces an augmen- " tation of the monied capital of the country, muſt have a proportional " effect in raiſing that value. The beneficial tendency of a funded debt, " in this reſpect has been manifeſted by the moſt deciſive experience in " Great Britain." The evil here mentioned is moſt ſenſibly felt, and has come near ruining many thouſands of our ſmall planters, and if a remedy be poſſible it ought to be immediatly applied. The opening of an immenſe new territory is the cauſe, which hath been commonly aſſigned; this may have its influence, but is not proportioned to ſo great an effect. The ſcarcity of money is a cauſe greater and more immediately operating. To give a value to fixed or landed property, there muſt be a certain proportion of property, in its nature negotiable, ſuch is money, and the principle in public funds, which by its credit, is received as money. The diſtruction of negotiable property, inſtantly lowers the value of landed property. When buſineſs ſtagnated by the commencement of war, the whole negotiable property of the people was thrown into the hands of the public, and has in effect been annihilated by the failure of credit. At the return of peace, habit, and other cauſes, for a ſhort ſeaſon, preſerved a decent price, but the depreciation of lands ſoon took place, and is now become extreme. Unleſs a remedy can be in part effected, by the meaſures recommended, the ſaleable value of the farmers property is half deſtroyed. The argument addreſſes itſelf ſtrongly to the policy and intereſt of all our planters who feel the evil. If a ſmall number of people were to be benefited, it would be leſs material; but the claſs of citizens whoſe caſe we are now conſidering, contains nine parts, in ten, of the whole people.

CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, FEB. 11, 1790.

MR. BURKE having withdrawn his motion for diſcrimination.

Mr. Madiſon roſe and obſerved, that no perſon had *expreſſed* more ſtrongly than he *felt* the importance and difficulty of the ſubject. That although he had endeavoured to view it under all its aſpects, and analyze it in all its principles, yet he had kept his mind open for the light to be expected from the gentlemen who had entered into the diſcuſſions. That he would gladly have remained ſtill longer a hearer; not a ſpeaker, upon the ſubject; but that the turn which the arguments had taken made it requiſite for him then, if at all, to trouble the committee with his reflections, and the opinion in which they had terminated.

In order to underſtand fully the debt due to domeſtic creditors, he thought it proper to look back to the circumſtances under which it was contracted. He remarked that it was the debt, not of the government, but of the nation; that the United States contracted the debt; the government was the agent, or organ, only. That for the purpoſe of this contract, the United States had then a national capacity. That although, by the revolution juſt effected, other national capacities had been added, and a material change had taken place in the government; yet that the national identity of the United States, relative to the debt, was not affected; nor was the preſent government any thing more than the agent or organ of its conſtituents. That the political as well as moral obligation, therefore, to diſcharge the debt, had undergone no variation whatever. That this was the language of the conſtitution, which expreſsly declares, that all debts ſhall have the ſame validity againſt the United States, under their new, as under their old form of government.

A queſtion had been ſtarted, as to the juſt amount of the debt due from the United States. This, he thought, admitted of a ready anſwer: the United States owed the value which they had received, which they had acknowledged, and which they had promiſed. No logic, no magic, could diſſolve this obligation.

The true queſtion to be decided was, *to whom* the payment was really due. He divided thoſe connected with the liquidated debt into four claſſes:

1. Original creditors who have never alienated their ſecurities.
2. Original creditors who have alienated.
3. Preſent holders of alienated ſecurities.
4. Intermediate holders, through whoſe hands ſecurities have circulated.

The only principles that could govern the deciſion on their reſpective pretenſions, he ſtated to be, 1. Public juſtice; 2. Public faith; 3. Public credit; 4. Public opinion.

With reſpect to the firſt claſs, there could be no difficulty. Juſtice was in their favor, for they had advanced the value which they claimed: public faith was in their favour, for the written promiſe was in their hands; reſpect for public credit was in their favour, for if claims ſo ſacred were violated, all confidence muſt be at an end; public opinion was in their favor, for every honeſt citizen could not but be their advocate.

With reſpect to the laſt claſs, the intermediate holders, their pretenſions, if they had any, would lead into a labyrinth for which it was impoſſible to find a clue. This would be the leſs complained of, becauſe this claſs were perfectly free, both in becoming and ceaſing to be creditors; and becauſe, in general, they muſt have gained by their ſpeculations.

The only rival pretenſions then, are thoſe of the original creditors who have aſſigned, and of the preſent holders of the aſſignments,

The former may appeal to juſtice, becauſe the value of the money, the ſervice, or the property, advanced by them, has never been really paid to them——

They may appeal to good faith, becauſe the value ſtipulated and expected was not ſatisfied by the ſteps taken by the government. The certificates put into the hands of the creditors, on cloſing their ſettlements with the public, were of leſs real value than was acknowledged to be due; they may be conſidered as having been forced, in fact, on the receivers. They cannot, therefore, be fairly adjudged an extinguiſhment of the debt. They may appeal to the motives for eſtabliſhing public credit, for which juſtice and public faith form the natural foundation. They may appeal to the precedent furniſhed by the compenſation allowed to the army during the war, for the depreciation of bills which nominally diſcharged the debts. They may appeal to humanity, for the ſufferings of the military part of the creditors can never be forgotten, while ſympathy is an American virtue. To ſay nothing of the ſingular hardſhip, in ſo many mouths, of requiring thoſe who have loſt four fifths or ſeven-eighths of their due, to contribute the remainder in favor of thoſe who have gained in the contrary proportion.

On the other hand, the holders by aſſignment have claims which he by no means wiſhed to depreciate. They will ſay, that whatever preten-

sions others may have againſt the public, theſe cannot affect the validity of theirs; that if they gain by the riſk taken upon themſelves, it is but the juſt reward of the riſk; that as they hold the public promiſe, they have an [undeniable demand on the public faith: that the beſt foundation of public credit is that adherence to literal engagements on which it has been erected by the moſt flouriſhing nations: that if the new government ſhould ſwerve from ſo eſſential a principle, it will be regarded by all the world as inheriting the infirmities of the old.—Such being the interfering claims on the public, one of three things muſt be done; either pay both, reject wholly one or other, or make a *compoſition* between them on ſome principle of equity; To pay both is perhaps beyond the public faculties; and as it would far exceed the value received by the public, will not be expected by the world, nor even by the creditors themſelves. To reject wholly the claims of either is equally inadmiſſible. Such a ſacrifice of thoſe who poſſeſs the written engagements, would be fatal to the propoſed eſtabliſhment of public credit. It would moreover puniſh thoſe who had put their truſt in the public promiſes and reſources. To make the other claſs the ſole victims, was an idea at which human nature recoiled.

A compoſition is the only expedient that remains; let it be a liberal one in favor of the preſent holders; let them have the higheſt price which has prevailed in the market; and let the reſidue belong to the original ſufferers. This will not do perfect juſtice; but it will do more real juſtice, and perform more of the public faith, than any other expedient propoſed. The preſent holders, where they have purchaſed at the loweſt price of the ſecurities, will have a profit that cannot reaſonably be complained of; where they have purchaſed at a higher price, the profit will be conſiderable; and even the few who have purchaſed at the higheſt price, cannot well be loſers with a well funded intereſt of ſix per cent. The original ſufferers will not be fully indemnified; but they will receive from their country a tribute due to their merits, which, if it does not intirely heal their wounds, will aſſuage the pain of them. He was aware, that many plauſible objections would lie againſt what he ſuggeſted; ſome, which he foreſaw, he would take ſome notice of. It would be ſaid, that the plan was impracticable: ſhould this be demonſtrated he was ready to renounce it; but it did not appear to him in that light. He acknowledged that ſuch a ſcale as had often been a ſubject of converſation, was impracticable—

The diſcrimination propoſed by him, required nothing more than a knowledge of the preſent holders, which would be ſhewn by the certificates; and of the original holders, which the office documents would ſhew. It may be objected, that if the government is to go beyond the literal into the equitable claims againſt the United States, it ought to go back to every caſe where injuſtice had been done. To this the anſwer was obvious: The caſe in queſtion is not only different from others in point of magnitude and of practicability, but forces itſelf on the attention of the committee as neceſſarily involved in the buſineſs before them. It may be objected, that public credit will ſuffer, eſpecially abroad: He thought this danger would be effectually obviated by the honeſty and diſintereſtedneſs of the government diſplayed in the meaſure, by a continuance of the punctual diſcharge of foreign intereſt, by the full proviſion to be made for the whole foreign debt, and the equal punctuality he hoped to ſee in the future payments on the domeſtic debts. He truſted alſo, that all future loans would be founded on a previous eſtabliſhment of adequate funds; and that a ſituation like the preſent would be thereby rendered impoſſible.

He could not but regard the preſent caſe as ſo extraordinary, in many reſpects, that the ordinary maxims were not ſtrictly applicable to it. The fluctuations of ſtock in Europe, ſo often referred to, bore no compariſon with thoſe in the United States. The former never exceeded 50, 60, or 70 per cent: can it be ſaid, that becauſe a government thought this evil inſufficient to juſtify an interference, it would view in the ſame light a fluctuation amounting to 7 or 800 per cent.?

He was of opinion, that were Great Britain, Holland, or any other country, to fund its debt preciſely in the ſituation of the American debt, ſome equitable interference of the government would take place. The South Sea ſcheme, in which a change amounting to 1000 per cent. happened in the value of ſtock, is well known to have produced an interference, and without any injury whatever to the ſubſequent credit of the nation. It was true that, in many reſpects, the caſe differed from that of the United States; but, in other reſpects there was a degree of ſimilitude which warranted the conjecture. It may be objected, that ſuch a proviſion as he propoſed would exceed the public ability: He did not think the public unable to diſcharge honorably all its engagements, or that it would be unwilling, if the appropriations ſhould be ſatisfactory. He regretted, as much as any member, the unavoidable weight and duration of the burdens to be impoſed; having never been a proſelyte to the doctrine that public debts are public benefits. He conſidered them, on the contrary, as evils which ought to be removed as faſt as honor and juſtice would permit, and ſhould heartily join in the means neceſſary for that purpoſe. He concluded with delaring his opinion, that if any caſe were to happen among individuals, bearing an analogy to that of the public, a court of equity would interpoſe for its redreſs; or that if a tribunal exiſted on earth, by which nations could be compelled to do right, the United States would be compelled to do ſomething not diſſimilar in its principles to what he contended for.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

Sketch of the Debate on the queſtion for committing the Memorials on the Slave Trade.

Mr. TUCKER ſaid, that he was ſorry there appeared to be ſo great a majority of the Houſe in favor of giving the Memorial a ſecond reading, as he conceived it to be ſo glaring an interference with the Conſtitution, that he had hoped the Houſe would not have given ſo much countenance to a requeſt ſo improper in itſelf.—He was ſorry that the ſociety had diſcovered ſo little prudence in their memorial, as to wiſh that Congreſs ſhould intermeddle in the internal regulations of the particular States. He was ſorry that another Memorial on the ſubject, ſigned by a perſon who ought to have known the Conſtitution better, had been offered to the Houſe. He hoped the petition would not be commited, as it would operate directly againſt the intereſt of thoſe it was deſigned to benefit: This is a buſineſs that may be attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences: It may end in a ſubverſion of the government, being a direct attack on the rights and property of the Southern States.——He then enquired what ſatisfaction was to be made to the proprietors of Slaves: He believed it was not in the power of the States, to make indemnification for the loſs that would attend their emancipation: He reprobated the interpoſition of the ſociety, and denied that they poſſeſſed any more humanity than other denominations.

Mr. Seney replied to Mr. Tucker, and deſired the gentleman to point out any part of the memorial which propoſed that the legiſlature ſhould infringe the Conſtitution. For his part he heard nothing read that had ſuch a tendency: Its only object was, that Congreſs ſhould exert their conſtitutional authority to abate the horrors of ſlavery ſo far as they could. He hoped the petition would be committed—indeed he conſidered that all altercation on the ſubject of commitment was at an end, as the Houſe had eſſentially determined, that it ſhould be committed.

Mr. Burke reprobated the commitment, as ſubverſive of the Conſtitution, as ſounding an alarm, and blowing the trumpet of ſedition in the Southern States. He ſhould oppoſe the buſineſs totally, and if choſen on the committee he ſhould decline ſerving.

Mr. Scot was in favor of the commitment.

Mr. Jackſon was oppoſed to it, and painted in ſtrong colors the alarming conſequences to be apprehended from taking up the buſineſs—revolt, inſurrection, and deva[illegible]ation—and concluded by an obſervation ſimilar to Mr. Burke's.

Mr. Sherman could ſee no difficulty in committing the memorial: The committee may bring in ſuch a report as may prove ſatisfactory to gentlemen on all ſides.

Mr. Baldwin referred to the principles of accommodation which prevailed at the time of forming the government. Thoſe mutual conceſſions which then took place gave us a conſtitution which was to enſure the peace and the equal rights and properties of the various States: And to prevent all infraction of their rights in this particular inſtance, they precluded themſelves by an expreſs ſtipulation from all interpoſition in the ſlave trade. Congreſs are not called upon to declare their ſentiments upon this occaſion; they cannot conſtitutionally interfere in the buſineſs. He deprecated the conſequences of ſuch a meaſure in very forcible terms; and hoped the Houſe would proceed no further in the inveſtigation of the ſubject.

Mr. Sylveſter ſaid, that he always had been in the habit of reſpecting the ſociety called Quakers; he reſpected them for their exertions in the cauſe of humanity; but he thought the preſent was not the proper time to enter into a conſideration of the ſubject.

Mr Lawrance obſerved that the ſubject would undoubtedly come under the conſideration of the Houſe, and he thought that as it was now before them, the preſent time was as proper as any; he hoped therefore that the memorial would be committed for the purpoſe of examination; when this examination has taken place, Congreſs may determine how far they may conſtitutionally interfere; and ſurely there is no danger of our exceeding our powers, we know what they are, and ſhall undoubtedly keep within their limits in all our deliberations and deciſions.

Mr. Smith (S. C.) recurring to the memorials, obſerved that Congreſs could not conſtitutionally interfere in the buſineſs upon the prayer of the memorialiſts, as that went to an entire abolition of ſlavery: It could not therefore with propriety be referred to a committee.

In the ſouthern States, difficulties on this account, had ariſen in reſpect to the ratification of the conſtitution, and except their apprehenſions on this head had been diſſipated by their property's being ſecured and guaranteed to them by the conſtitution itſelf, they never would have adopted it. He then depicted the miſeries that would reſult from the interference of Congreſs, in the ſouthern governments—he aſſerted as his opinion that if there were no ſlaves in the ſouthern States they would be entirely depopulated—that from the nature of the country it could not be cultivated without them—that their proprietors are perſons of as much humanity as the inhabitants of any part of the Continent—they are as conſpicuous for their morals as any of their neighbors. He then aſſerted that the Quakers are a ſociety not known to the laws; they ſtand in exactly the ſame ſituation with other religious ſocieties; their memorial relates to a matter in which they are no more intereſted than any other ſect whatever; and it muſt therefore be conſidered in the light of advice; and is it cuſtomary to refer a piece of advice to a committee? He then contraſted this memorial with one which might be preſented from the ſect called Shaking Quakers, whoſe principles and practices are repreſented in a very exceptionable point of light, and aſked, whether Congreſs would pay any attention to ſuch a memorial.——He hoped that the memorial would not be committed.

Mr. Page was in favor of the commitment—he hoped that the benevolent deſigns of the reſpectable memorialiſts would not be fruſtrated at the threſhold, ſo far as to preclude a fair diſcuſſion of the prayer of their memorial—he obſerved that they do not apply for a total abolition of ſlavery—they only requeſt that ſuch meaſures may be taken conſiſtent with the conſtitution as may finally iſſue in the total abolition of the ſlave trade—he could not conceive that the apprehenſions entertained by the gentlemen from Georgia and South-Carolina, were well founded, as they reſpected the propoſed interference of Congreſs.—He obſerved that he was intereſted perhaps as much as any perſon in the conſequences of the meaſures which may be adopted, but ſtill he had no apprehenſions of any diſagreeable effects—on the contrary he thought it probable that the reverſe would be the caſe—for if he was a ſlave he ſhould think his condition much altered for the better in the proſpect of a future liberation.—Mr. Page ſpoke low, we did not hear all his obſervations—they were extended much further.

Mr. Madiſon obſerved, that it was his opinion yeſterday, that the beſt way to proceed in the buſineſs was to commit the memorial without any debate on the ſubject, from what has taken place he was more convinced of the propriety of the idea—but as the buſineſs has engaged the attention of many members, and much has been ſaid by gentlemen, he would offer a few obſervations for the conſideration of the Houſe—he then entered into a critical review of the circumſtances reſpecting the adoption of the conſtitution, the ideas upon the limitation of the powers of Congreſs to interfere in the regulation of the commerce in ſlaves—and ſhewed that they undoubtedly were not precluded from interpoſing in their importation—and generally to regulate the mode in which every ſpecies of buſineſs ſhall be tranſacted—He adverted to the weſtern country—and the ſeſſion of Georgia in which Congreſs have certainly the power to regulate the ſubject of ſlavery, which ſhews that the gentlemen are miſtaken in ſuppoſing that Congreſs cannot conſtitutionally interfere in the buſineſs in any degree whatever—He was in favor of committing the petition, and juſtified the meaſure by repeated precedents in the proceedings of the Houſe.

Mr. Gerry entered into a juſtification of the interference of Congreſs—as being fully compatible with the conſtitution—he deſcanted on the miſeries to which the Africans are ſubjected by this traffic, and ſaid that he never contemplated the ſubject, without reflecting what his own feelings would be in caſe himſelf, his children, or friends were placed in the ſame deplorable circumſtances—he then adverted to the flagrant acts of cruelty which are committed in carrying on that traffic, and aſked whether it can be ſuppoſed that Congreſs has no power to prevent ſuch tranſactions as far as poſſible—He then referred to the conſtitution and pointed out the reſtrictions laid on the general government reſpecting the importation of ſlaves—it is not, he preſumed, in the contemplation of any gentleman in this Houſe to violate that part of the conſtitution—but that we have a right to regulate this buſineſs is as clear as that we have any rights whatever—nor has the contrary been ſhewn by any perſon who has ſpoke on the occaſion—Congreſs can agreeable to the conſtitution, lay a duty of ten dollars a head on ſlaves—they may do this immediately—he made a calculation of the value of the ſlaves in the ſouthern States—he ſuppoſed they might be worth about 10 millions of dollars,—Congreſs have a right if they ſee proper to make a propoſal to the ſouthern States to purchaſe the whole of them, and their reſources in the weſtern territory may furniſh them with the means—he did mean to ſuggeſt a meaſure of this kind—he only inſtanced theſe particulars to ſhew that Congreſs certainly have a right to intermeddle in this buſineſs—he thought that no objection had been offered of any force to prevent the committing of the memorial.

Mr. Boudinot was in favor of the commitment and enlarged on the idea ſuggeſted by Mr Gerry, and obſerved that the memorial contained only a requeſt, that Congreſs would interfere their authority in the cauſe of humanity and mercy.

Mr. Gerry and Mr. Stone, ſeverally ſpoke again on the ſubject, the latter gentleman in oppoſition to the commitment ſaid, that this memorial was a thing of courſe—for there never was a ſociety of any conſiderable extent which did not interfere with the concerns of other people, and this interference has at one time or other deluged the world in blood—on this principle he was oppoſed to the commitment.

ERRATUM. *In Mr. Gerry's Speech, in our laſt, for "ultima rex regum," read* ultima lex regum.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

Mr. Goodhue preſented the petition of Hannah Treat, which was read and laid on the table.

Mr. Thatcher preſented the petition of John Stone, ſtating that he had invented an improved method of driving Piles, by which the erecting bridges over rivers may be greatly facilitated—laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Benſon, the memorial of Brigadier General Donald Campbell was read a ſecond time, and referred to a committee, conſiſting of Mr. Bland, Mr. Cadwallader and Benſon.

On motion of Mr. Wadſworth, the petition of Iſaac Trowbridge, was read a ſecond time, and referred to the Poſt Maſter General.

In committee of the whole on the Report of the Secretary of the Treaſury.

Mr. Madiſon's motion for a diſcrimination under conſideration.

Mr. Sedgwick obſerved, that the propoſition contained a queſtion of the utmoſt importance: That the committee muſt be obliged to the gentleman who brought it forward, for his very ingenious diſcuſſion of the ſubject of the Domeſtic Debt.

With reſpect to the queſtion now before the Committee, ſo much has been ſaid, he thought it would not be neceſſary to conſume much of their time in the inveſtigation.

On the ſubject of Contracts he obſerved. When ever a voluntary engagement is made for a valuable conſideration, for property advanced, or ſervices rendered, and the terms of the contract are underſtood, if no fraud or impoſition is practiſed, the party engageſing is bound to performance according to the literal meaning of the words in which it is expreſſed.

That ſuch contract, whether of a government or an individual, might be either transferable, or not transferable.

That the latter ſpecies of contract received an additional value from its capacity of being transferred, if the circumſtances of the poſſeſſor ſhould render a ſale of it neceſſary or convenient to him.

That to render the transferable quality of ſuch evidences of contract, in any degree advantageous to the poſſeſſor it was neceſſary to conſider the alienee poſſeſſed, in caſe of ſale, of all the property of the original holder; and indeed that it was highly abſurd, and even contradictory to ſay, that ſuch evidences of debt were transferable, at the ſame time to ſay, that there was in them a kind of property that the holder could not convey by *bona fide* contract.

That this was the conſtruction which had invariably been given to theſe contracts whether formed by government or by individuals.

That to deprive the citizen of the power of binding himſelf by his own voluntary contract, or to prevent a diſpoſition of property in its nature alienable, would be a violent and unjuſtifiable invaſion of one of thoſe rights of which man as a citizen is the moſt tenacious, and would indeed break one of the ſtrongeſt bonds by which ſociety is holden together.

That in the transfers which had been made, the contracts were fairly made; the whole rights had been transferred; that it was not pretended any fraud or impoſition had been practiſed: the riſque was calculated by the parties, and it was obſerved, that the riſque contemplated a revolution in the government.

From the foregoing deduction of particulars, it was preſumed to have been proved that a property was veſted in the transferees. That if this property was diveſted by the government, the law for that purpoſe would have a retroſpective operation, and that no *ex poſt facto* law could be more alarming than that by which the right of private property was violently invaded.

Having conſidered the nature of the contract, and of the obligations which reſulted from it, the attention of the committee was called to advert to thoſe circumſtances by which that obligation might be deſtroyed, impaired or ſuſpended. They were ſtated to be

1. Performance.
2. Voluntary diſcharge.
3. Compoſition.
4. Inability.

And gentlemen were called upon to give information of any other cauſes which could produce either of thoſe effects.

With regard more particularly to the propoſition before the committee, it was obſerved, that with regard to theſe contracts, there had exiſted a depreciation in conſequence of the failure of government regularly to pay the intereſt: That in this depreciated ſtate the ſecurities had been alienated; that of courſe the original holders had ſuſtained a loſs; that if the loſs reſulted from the fault, and not the misfortune of the government, the creditor had undeniably a demand againſt the government for compenſation; that this demand however well founded could never authoriſe the government to invade the honeſtly acquired property of the preſent poſſeſſors, a property warranted by the terms of the contract itſelf, and ſanctioned by the Act of Congreſs of April 1783. and the validity of it recognized by the Conſtitution we had ſworn to ſupport.

With regard to the claims of the original holders it was, however, obſerved, that the domeſtic creditor at the time the contract was formed, well knew the nature of the conſtitution of the government adminiſtered by the other contracting party, Congreſs; that its power of performance depended on the ability and good will of the States; that Congreſs had always performed its duty, had made the neceſſary requiſitions; that this was its utmoſt power; that the failure had ariſen wholly from the neglect of the States. He therefore ſubmitted to the committee, whether, if the original holder had a juſt or equitable demand, he ſhould not reſort to the ſtate of which he is a member?

It was admitted that the caſe of an original holder was indeed a hard one; that the ſpeaker had a reſpect for his misfortunes and for his pretenſions: That if ſatisfaction was diſcovered to be juſt and practicable, he would not heſitate to go to the utmoſt ability of the government for that purpoſe. But it was aſked, what merit would the government poſſeſs, if it ſtripped one claſs of citizens who had acquired by the known and eſtabliſhed rules of law, property, of that property, under the ſpecious pretence of doing juſtice to another claſs of citizens.

It was obſerved, that it was implicitly agreed, that 80 per cent. depreciation would not authorize the interference propoſed by the motion. It was aſked that ſome point of depreciation ſhould be pointed out which would authoriſe ſuch interference.

It was obſerved that the ſide of the queſtion for which he contended, had received the univerſal approbation of mankind; that there was no inſtances of interference contended for, and that this general ſenſe of mankind afforded ſome evidence of truth.

It was ſaid, that this contract was founded on a valuable conſideration. It was the price of our liberty and independence. That the poſſeſſor claimed according to the very terms of the contract. That it was not pretended that the engagement of government had been performed. No compoſition with the creditor was propoſed; nor was the propoſition founded on any pretended inability of the government; for to comply with the intention of it, 1,600,000 dollars annually more, was neceſſary than was propoſed by the report of the Secretary.

It was obſerved that by reaſon of the circumſtances which had taken place Mr. Madiſon ſuppoſed that if the whole amount of a ſecurity ſhall be paid to the preſent poſſeſſor, he will have a ſum of money to which the original holder is equitably entitled. If this is true then no interpoſition is neceſſary, it being a well known rule of law, that an action will always lie to recover money out of the hands of another to which the plaintiff from the principles of equity and good conſcience is entitled.

With regard to the effects which would probably reſult from this meaſure, it was obſerved that it would be deſtructive to our national character: That the world was now willing charitably to impute our former miſcarriages to events we could not controul. But ſhould our firſt meaſures in regard to public faith be a violent infraction of our contracts, it would ſanction all our bittereſt enemies have ſaid to our diſadvantage.

With regard to its effects on credit, it was obſerved, that little dependence would be placed on the plighted faith of a government which under the pretence of doing equity, had exerciſed a power of diſpenſing with its contracts, and had thereby formed for itſelf a precedent of like future violations both with reſpect to its funds and contracts.

That with regard to diſcovering who was the original holder, except ſo far as reſpected the army debt, it was declared that there were no documents by which the neceſſary facts could be diſcovered.

It was ſtated as a fact that with regard to much the greater part of the debt, any fictitious name was inſerted. That with regard

to the army debt the ſoldiers generally, who were in ſervice at the concluſion of the war, had received ample ſatisfaction for their ſervices at the time of their inliſtment, having been paid more, on an average, than 250 dollars per man.

It was further declared, that the propoſed ſyſtem would lay a foundation for infinite frauds and perjuries, and that it would, beyond all powers of calculation, multiply the evils of ſpeculation.

(To be continued.)

TUESDAY, FEB. 16.

A meſſage was received from the Preſident of the United States, with a letter from his Excel. Preſident Sullivan encloſing the act of the Legiſlature of the State of New-Hampſhire, for adopting the amendments propoſed by Congreſs to the Conſtitution---except the ſecond.

Mr. Livermore of the committee to whom was recommitted the bill for eſtabliſhing a uniform ſyſtem of naturalization, brought in a report, which was read and laid on the table.

Mr. Burke of the committee appointed for the purpoſe, bro't in a bill for the encouragement of USEFUL ARTS.

This bill is lengthy—and is deſigned to comprehend a proviſion for every ſubject of invention and diſcovery that may be thought worthy of public patronage—read and laid on the table.—The order of the day was then called for, and the Houſe went into a committee of the whole on the report of the Secretary of the Treaſury; Mr. Madiſon's propoſition under diſcuſſion.—The debate was continued till near three o'clock this day---Mr. Jackſon, Mr. White and Mr. Moore ſpake in favor of the motion---Mr. Benſon, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Wadſworth and Mr. Goodhue in oppoſition to it. The committee roſe without coming to a vote—and the Houſe adjourned.

FRANCE.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, November 14.

A Propoſition was read from the province of *Anjou*, offering a commutation in lieu of the *Gabelle*, the full amount of that tax.

This gave riſe to a debate on a general commutation of the *Gabelle*, which was interrupted by the arrival of *M. Necker*.

He read a memorial, ſtating that, notwithſtanding the ſacrifices which had been made, there would be occaſion for *ninety* millions over and above the produce of the taxes for the ſervice of the year 1790; and for *eighty* millions, to make good the ſums due to the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, without which that bank could not fulfil its engagements.

To provide for theſe ſums, he propoſed eſtabliſhing a national bank, and incorporating the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, with it; that 150 millions ſhould be ſubſcribed by the new company; on which capital, added to that of the capital of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, notes, not exceeding 240 millions, ſhould be iſſued; that the national faith ſhould be ſolemnly pledged for the credit of this bank; and ſix Commiſſioners appointed, by the National Aſſembly, to take care that the fundamental rules of it are never departed from.

He concluded with requeſting, that the Aſſembly, in diſcuſſing this plan, would not be influenced by *confidence* in the propoſer, but by ſuch lights and information as vigorous enquiry, and the wiſdom of the National Repreſentatives, could not fail to afford.

Tueſday, November 17.

It was this day decreed, that the number of Deputies ſent to the National Aſſembly by each diſtrict, ſhall be in proportion to the population, territory and taxes jointly conſidered.

Thurſday, Nov. 19.

A report was read from the Committee of War, the beginning of which deſerves to be noticed. "*Although it be neither the intereſt of France, nor the wiſh of Frenchmen to make conqueſts*, we muſt nevertheleſs have an army always on foot, and ready for action, to reſiſt the attacks, of powerful and armed neighbors, &c.

Friday, Nov. 20.

A deputation was admitted from the city of *Iſſondein*, with a patriotic offering of all the *ſilver buckles* of the inhabitants, to the value of 115 marks.

M. Dailly moved, that all the members of the Aſſembly ſhould make a ſimilar ſacrifice, which was inſtantly agreed to.

This vote ludecrous as it may ſeem, will probably produce effects of conſiderable importance. It is expected to be followed by the voluntary ſacrifice of all the ſilver buckles in the kingdom, computed to be worth above three millions of livres.

Wedneſday, November 25.

The Addreſs of Congratulation from the Revolution Society was read; and the Aſſembly decreed, on the motion of the *Duke de Liancourt*, that the Preſident ſhould write a letter of thanks to Lord Stanhope, as Chairman of the Society; and that the addreſs and the letter ſhould be printed.

LONDON, December 5.

It now turns out, on proof, exactly as we expected, that the mighty and dreadful ſtories of tumults in Paris—of the ſtreets running in blood,—of 12000 being ſlaughtered,—of the King and Queen being beſet, &c. &c. &c.—are mere fabrications. Yeſterday the mails arrived,—and our letters came down to Monday laſt; we have alſo the journals and newſpapers of Paris, and to that time, not the ſmalleſt tumult had been ſeen. It is not eaſy for the plain ſincerity of a Briton to account for the ſiniſter motives that can thus induce men, time after time, to frame and propagate theſe attrocious fables. They can impoſe on the moſt credulous natures but for a day or two, and what benefit or triumph they can derive from ſuch ſilly machinations, we are utterly unable to divine.

It was yeſterday confidently aſſerted, that Oſtend, Bruges, Ghent, Oudenarde and in ſhort all the Auſtrian Netherlands, except Luxemburgh, Antwerp, and Bruſſels, had avowedly quite thrown off the Emperor's authority, and are in the hands of the patriots. The imperial troops have marched out of Bruſſels, and are encamped in its vicinity.

The Emperor, in order to recover the minds of his late ſubjects, has diſgraced Count d'Alton, and removed him from the command of the troops, which are now to obey Trautmanſdorf.

Schroeder, who commanded at Tournhout, though mortally wounded, has been diſmiſſed the ſervice, and declared incapable of ever ſerving the Emperor again.

Peace, pardon, and compromiſe, have been likewiſe offered, in the Emperor's name to the patriots under any guarantee they may chuſe, and an armiſtice propoſed till the terms of accommodation can be ſettled. All theſe propoſals have been unanimouſly rejected by the people, who will not ſuffer the Emperor's name to be any more henceforward mentioned in the country.

FOR THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. FENNO,

Pleaſe to inſert the following Remarks in your paper.

MR. M——— aſſerts that we were forced to receive certificates in *payment* of our demands againſt the public There is great fallacy in the idea itſelf, and ſtill greater in his mode of applying it. He inſinuates that the certificates were of leſs real value than the ſum acknowledged to be due; and therefore they ſhould not extinguiſh the debt. Who ever ſuppoſed that a transferable note given for the balance due on account, was conſidered as *payment* of the debt? It only alters the form of the demand, and places it on a more convenient footing for the creditor. The demand ſtill exiſts, and *payment* ſtill remains to be made, either to the original claimant or his aſſignee. The certificate is the legal evidence of the debt, and the holder of it is the only perſon to whom it is *juſtly* due. Tho it is true a time was limited for the liquidation of our claims; and if we did not offer them within that period, we muſt forfeit them, we ſtill ſuppoſed this no hardſhip. This regulation was not for the purpoſe of *payment*, but for the purpoſe of *ſettlement*. We always thought it was an accommodation and not an injury.

Delays in ſettling accounts are detrimental to all parties, but more eſpecially to the creditor. By a delay, the facts may be forgot, and the papers loſt, which relate to a claim. The certificates we took on the liquidation of our accounts, we viewed as an evidence that a ſettlement was effected and a balance aſcertained. We believed no *new liquidation* was to take place; but in point of *payment*, we were exactly in the ſame ſituation as if the account never had been ſettled. We could, and in many inſtances, did aſſign our claims previous to a liquidation; and in ſuch caſes the aſſignees attended to the ſettlement. Now in what reſpect have we ſuffered by the mode of conducting this buſineſs? It was unfortunate that the public could not pay our demands when they became due; but we never conſidered it a grievance that our accounts were permitted to be liquidated. Had no certificates been given, we ſhould have transferred our claims notwithſtanding. Every body knows that ſoldiers never keep any thing on hand, that they can ſell. Whether our claims had been liquidated or not, we ſhould ſoon have transferred the property, in them, to other hands.

There ſeems to be a great clamor againſt ſpeculators. Thoſe who raiſe this outcry are very weak or very diſhoneſt men. Had there been no ſpeculators in the time of the war, the army muſt have diſbanded. It was not an evil that we had *ſome* ſpeculators; but it was a great evil that we had not *more* of them. If there had been a greater number of men who had confidence in the government, we ſhould probably have obtained an higher price for our claims; if there had been fewer ſuch men, we ſhould have obtained a leſs price. Conſequently our adantages were great or ſmall, in proportion as ſpeculators were few or many. We ſeriouſly miſtruſt that the advocates for diſcrimination, have other objects in view than to help us.

SOLDIERS.

New-York, Feb. 16, 1789.

HARTFORD, Feb. 11.

A correſpondent aſks, why *certain gentlemen* in a great aſſembly would poſtpone the conſideration of the Secretary's Report, until they can *know the minds of their conſtituents*. Do they ſuppoſe that *deputies* in legiſlatures are bound to ſubmit to the *opinions* of their *conſtituents*? There are men who do not or ſeem not to know, that delegates from all parts of a ſtate or republic meet together, not merely to *bring* but to *acquire* the information neceſſary to be the baſis of laws. A delegate is bound to ſtate facts reſpecting the *ſituation* and *intereſts* of his conſtituents—this is all he is *bound* to do—the *opinions* of conſtituents ought to have little or no influence in legiſlation; for a reaſon that every body may underſtand, viz. that the opinions of conſtituents are formed on *local* or *perſonal* views; whereas, a *general view of all the country to be governed*, of *all the circumſtances and intereſts of the whole body*, *ſhould* be the *baſis of laws*. Repreſentatives ſhould not carry *opinions* to Congreſs; they ſhould carry *facts*, throw them into a general view, and form *opinions* on this view. It is laughable to hear the venerable diſſentient members of the Senate in the *old dominion*, inſiſting on a right in conſtituents *to inſtruct repreſentatives*; that is, the conſtituents have a right to *legiſlate* for their Repreſentatives in *legiſlature*.

SPEC.

SAYS A to B "why look ſo ſad?"
Says B to A "I'm almoſt mad,
"To hear an orator of reaſon,
"Advancing things ſo out of ſeaſon;
"Sure if I buy certificates
"They're mine in ſpite of all their pates—
"Why ſhould'n't I be paid that hold'em
"As much as thoſe poor Dogs that ſold'em?—
"To hear theſe people talk and prate ſo!
"D—— it—there's nothing that I hate ſo—
"Making confuſion of a caſe,
"As plain as noſe upon my face
"Or ſpectacles upon that noſe:—
"Why ſure the ſecretary ſhows
"What ſhould be done; as clear as day light:
"And he you know does always ſay right.—
"I in the Gall'ry have been ſitting—
"Between ourſelves—I've had a ſweating—
"But if ye do'n't adopt this plan,
"Why—Get a better if ye can. W.N.D.

NEW-YORK, FEBRUARY 17.

Extract of a letter from an American in London, December 2.

"The prohibition laid laſt year on the importation of American Wheat, from an apprehenſion that the Heſſian Fly or Weavil might be propagated from it, in this country, has within a few days been taken off: it being now acknowledged that there was no grounds for ſuch an opinion. They have been further induced to this meaſure from the proſpect of a ſcarcity the enſuing ſpring.

"It muſt give ſatisfaction to every American to ſee the new government get on ſo well: I truſt our country will become reſpectable and happy under its ſuperintendance. You cannot conceive how much more reſpectable the government and people appear in the eyes of Europe, than before the united government was put on its preſent footing.

This country ſeems anxious to have a commercial treaty with us, and I think an advantageous one may be had.

Will not Congreſs think it reaſonable that the Packets between Falmouth and New-York ſhould be alternately Britiſh and American? If there were two in each Month commerce would feel the advantage."

The PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate, has been pleaſed to appoint the following perſons to office:

SAMUEL SHAW, Conſul of the United States of America, at Canton, in China.

JAMES IREDELL, to be one of the Aſſociate Juſtices of the Supreme Court, in the room of Robert H. Harriſon, who declined.

WILLIAM PACA, to be Diſtrict Judge of Maryland, in the room of Thomas Johnſon, who declined.

CYRUS GRIFFIN, to be Diſtrict Judge of Virginia, in the room of Edward Pendleton, who declined.

WILLIAM NELSON, jun. Attorney for the Diſtrict of Virginia, in the room of John Marſhal, who declined acceptance.

WILLIAM DRAYTON, Diſtrict Judge of South-Carolina, in the place of Thomas Pinckney, who declined acceptance.

CHRISTOPHER HILLARY, Collector of Brunſwick, in Georgia.

RICHARD TAYLOR, Collector of Louiſville, Kentuckey.

COMFORT SAGE, ſurveyor of the port of Middletown, ſtate of Connecticut

A Correſpondent wiſhes the gentlemen who patronize the idea of a diſcrimination between the *original* and *purchaſing* holders of certificates, to conſider whether, in caſe of even a total loſs, they would think the *purchaſer* had an equitable claim upon the *original holder* for the whole, or any part of the money he paid for the certificate: *It is a bad rule that will not work both ways.*"

That thoſe who advocate a diſcrimination are perfect volunteers, is evident from this conſideration, That there is in fact leſs uneaſineſs upon ſolid principle, exiſting among the people on account of the ſettlement of the late war, than there is reſpecting the ſettlement of the war in the year 1745.

The Birth-Day of the Preſident of the United States, was celebrated at Philadelphia, the 11th inſt. under the direction of his Excellency the Preſident, and Supreme Executive Council of Pennſylvania.

By the Boſton Gazette of laſt week, it appears that preparations were making to celebrate the auſpicious anniverſary in that place.

A Correſpondent obſerves that he always was puzzled to account for the outcry againſt the ſalaries under the National Government. If we are to judge from facts, the clamor has been unreaſonable—reſignations, and declinings to ſerve, form frequent paragraphs in thoſe papers that have ſounded the higheſt note on this key.

DIED, the 7th inſt. at Charleſtown, Maſſachuſetts, RICHARD CAREY, Eſq. aged 73.

☞ *Wanted by the Editor of this paper, a Houſe that will accommodate a large family, and the printing buſineſs—from the firſt of May next.*

REPORT

of the SECRETARY of the TREASURY to the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Jan.* 9, 1790.

[CONTINUATION.]

THE Secretary thinks it adviseable, to hold out various propositions, all of them compatible with the public interest, because it is, in his opinion, of the greatest consequence, that the debt should, with the consent of the creditors, be remoulded into such a shape, as will bring the expenditure of the nation to a level with its income. Till this shall be accomplished, the finances of the United States will never wear a proper countenance. Arrears of interest, continually accruing, will be as a continual monument, either of inability, or of ill faith; and will not cease to have an evil influence on public credit. In nothing are appearances of greater moment, than in whatever regards credit. Opinion is the soul of it, and this is affected by appearances, as well as realities. By offering an option to the creditors, between a number of plans, the change meditated will be more likely to be accomplished. Different tempers will be governed by different views of the subject.

But while the Secretary would endeavor to effect a change in the form of the debt, by new loans, in order to render it more susceptible of an adequate provision; he would not think it proper to aim at procuring the concurrence of the creditors by operating upon their necessities.

Hence whatever surplus of revenue might remain, after satisfying the interest of the new loans, and the demand for the current service, ought to be divided among those creditors, if any, who may not think fit to subscribe to them. But for this purpose, under the circumstance of depending propositions, a temporary appropriation will be most adviseable, and the sum must be limited to four per cent. as the revenues will only be calculated to produce, in that proportion, to the entire debt.

The Secretary confides for the success of the propositions, to be made, on the goodness of the reasons upon which they rest; on the fairness of the equivalent to be offered in each case; on the discernment of the creditors of their true interest; and on their disposition to facilitate the arrangements of the government, and to render them satisfactory to the community.

The remaining part of the task to be performed is, to take a view of the means of providing for the debt, according to the modification of it, which is proposed.

On this point the Secretary premises, that, in his opinion, the funds to be established, ought, for the present, to be confined to the existing debt of the United States; as well, because a progressive augmentation of the revenue will be most convenient, as because the consent of the State creditors is necessary, to the assumption contemplated; and though the obtaining of that consent may be inferred with great assurance, from their obvious interest to give it; yet till it shall be obtained, an actual provision for the debt, would be premature. Taxes could not, with propriety, be laid for an object, which depended on such a contingency.

All that ought now to be done, respecting it, is, to put the matter in an effectual train for a future provision. For which purpose, the Secretary will, in the course of this report, submit such propositions, as appear to him adviseable.

The Secretary now proceeds to a consideration of the necessary funds.

It has been stated that the debt of the United States consists of

	Dollars.	*Cents.*
The foreign debt, amounting, with arrears of interest, to - -	11,710,378	62
And the domestic debt amounting, with like arrears, computing to the end of the year 1790, to - -	42,414,085	94
Making together, Dollars	54,124,464	56

The interest on the domestic debt is computed to the end of this year, because the details of carrying any plan into execution, will exhaust the year.

	Dollars.	*Cents.*
The annual interest of the foreign debt has been Stated at - - -	542,599	66
And the interest on the domestic debt at four per cent. would amount to - -	1,696,563	43
Making together, dollars,	2,239,163	09

Thus to pay the interest of the foreign debt, and to pay four per cent. on the whole of the domestic debt, principal and interest, forming a new capital,

will require a yearly income of 2,239,163 dollars, 9 cents.

The sum which, in the opinion of the Secretary, ought now to be provided in addition to what the current service will require.

For, though the rate of interest, proposed by the third plan, exceeds four per cent. on the whole debt, and the annuities on the tontine will also exceed four per cent. on the sums which may be subscribed; yet, as the actual provision for a part is, in the former case, suspended; as measures for reducing the debt, by purchases, may be advantageously pursued, and as the payment of the deferred annuities will of course be postponed, four per cent. on the whole, will be a sufficient provision.

With regard to the instalments of the foreign debt, these, in the opinion of the Secretary, ought to be paid by new loans abroad. Could funds be conveniently spared, from other exigencies, for paying them, the United States could ill bear the drain of cash, at the present juncture, which the measure would be likely to occasion.

But to the sum which has been stated for payment of the interest, must be added a provision for the current service. This the Secretary estimates at six hundred thousand dollars; making, with the amount of the interest, two millions, eight hundred and thirty-nine thousand, one hundred and sixty-three dollars, and nine cents.

This sum may, in the opinion of the Secretary, be obtained from the present duties on imports and tonnage, with the additions, which, without any possible disadvantage either to trade, or agriculture, may be made on wines, spirits, including those distilled within the United States, teas and coffee.

The Secretary conceives, that it will be found policy, to carry the duties upon articles of this kind, as high as will be consistent with the practicability of a safe collection. This will lessen the necessity, both of having recourse to direct taxation, and of accumulating duties where they would be more inconvenient to trade, and upon objects, which are more to be regarded as necessaries of life.

That the articles which have been enumerated, will, better than most others, bear high duties, can hardly be a question. They are all of them, in reality—luxuries—the greatest part of them foreign luxuries; some of them, in the excess in which they are used, pernicious luxuries. And there is, perhaps, none of them, which is not consumed in so great abundance, as may, justly, denominate it, a source of national extravagance and impoverishment. The consumption of ardent spirits particularly, no doubt very much on account of their cheapness, is carried to an extreme, which is truly to be regretted, as well in regard to the health and the morals, as to the economy of the community.

Should the increase of duties tend to a decrease of the consumption of those articles, the effect would be, in every respect desirable. The saving which it would occasion, would leave individuals more at their ease, and promote a more favorable balance of trade. As far as this decrease might be applicable to distilled spirits, it would encourage the substitution of cyder and malt liquors, benefit agriculture, and open a new and productive source of revenue.

It is not however, probable, that this decrease would be in a degree, which would frustrate the expected benefit to the revenue from raising the duties. Experience has shewn, that luxuries of every kind, lay the strongest hold on the attachments of mankind, which, especially when confirmed by habit, are not easily alienated from them.

FROM THE AMERICAN MUSEUM.

FOR JANUARY 1790.

EULOGIUM ON RUM.

ARISE! ye pimpled, tippling race, arise!
From every town and village tavern come!
Shew your red noses, and o'erflowing eyes,
And help your poet chant the praise of *Rum*;
The cordial drop, the morning dram, I sing,
The mid-day toddy, and the evening sling.

Hail, mighty *Rum*! and by this general name
I call each species—*Whisky*, *Gin*, or *Brandy*:
[The kinds are various—but the effect the same;
And so I chuse a name that's short and handy:
For reader, know, it takes a deal of time,
To make a crooked word lie smooth in rhyme.]

Hail, mighty *Rum!* thy song-inspiring merit
Is known to many a bard in these our days:
Apollo's drink, they find, is void of spirit—
Mere chicken broth—insipid as their lays:
And pleas'd, they'd give a riv'let—aye, a sea
Of tuneful water, for one quart of thee!

Hail mighty *Rum*! how wond'rous is thy power!
Unwarm'd by thee, how would our spirits fail!
When dark December comes with aspect sour,
And, sharp as razor, blows the northern gale!
And yet thou'rt grateful in that sultry day,
When raging Sirius darts his fervid ray.

Hail mighty *Rum*! to thee the wretched fly,
And find a sweet oblivion of their woes:
Lock'd in thy arms, as in the grave, they lie——
Forget their kindred——and forgive their foes:
And Lethe's stream [so much extoll'd by some
In ancient times] I shrewdly guess was *Rum*.

Hail, mighty *rum*! what can thy power withstand!
E'en lordly Reason flies thy dreadful face;
And Health and Joy, and all the lovely band
Of social virtues, shun thy dwelling place,
For in whatever breast it rears its throne;
Like Turkish monarchs, *Rum* must rule alone.——

When our bold fathers cross'd the Atlantic wave,
And here arriv'd—a weak defenceless band,
Pray what became of all the tribe so brave—
The savage owners of this happy land?
Were they sent headlong to the realms below,
"By doom of battle?" friend, I answer no.

Our Fathers were too wise to think of war:
They knew the woodlands were not quickly past:
They might have met with many an ugly scar—
Lost many a fore-top—and been beat at last.
But *Rum*, assisted by his son Disease,
Perform'd the business with surprising ease.

And would our western brethren be less proud, or,
In other words, throw by the gun and drum—
For ducks and squirrels save their lead and powder,
And send the tawny rogues some pipes of *Rum*—
I dare predict, they all would gladly suck it,
And every mother's son soon *kick the bucket*.

But, lo! the ingratitude of Adam's race!
Tho' all these clever things to *Rum* we owe—
Gallons of ink are squirted in his face,
And his bruis'd back is bang'd with many a blow:
Some hounds of note have rung his funeral knell,
And every puppy joins the general yell.

So have I seen (the simile is fine,
And wonderfully pat, tho' rather old)
When rising Phœbus shot his rays benign,
A flock of sheep come skipping from the fold:
Some restless sheep cries baa—and all the throng,
Ewes, rams, lambs, wethers, bellowing pour along.

But fear not, *Rum*, tho' fiercely they assail,
And none but I, the bard, thy cause defend,
Think not thy foes, tho' num'rous, shall prevail,
Thy power diminish, or thy being end:
Tho' spurn'd from table, and the public eye,
In the snug closet safely shalt thou lie.

And oft, when Sol's proud chariot quits the sky,
And humbler Cynthia mounts her one-horse chair,
To that snug closet shall thy vot'ry fly,
And, wrapt in darkness, keep his orgies there—
Lift the full bottle joyous to his head,
Then, great as Cæsar, reel sublime to bed.

Burlington, Dec. 1789.

NASSAU *(N. Providence)* December 30.

THE Sloop two brothers, belonging to Capt. Chris. Fisher, of this place, taken by Juan Gregorio, at Heneaga, in April last, arrived here, from the Havannah this morning. By her we have the following intelligence:—That the above named pirate was under sentence of death, and the sloop ordered to be restored to the owners, together with full compensation for the injuries sustained by her capture;—That a suit had been commenced against the Intendant, in whose employ Gregorio was, and the governor of Baraca had been broke with disgrace for being concerned in that infamous transaction:—That all the guarda costas had been called in, and the captains broke for capturing vessels without any just pretence, which had involved his Catholic Majesty in unnecessary lawsuits; and that the soldiers mentioned in a former Herald to have been put on board an English Guineaman had been removed, and permission given to the captain to dispose of his Negroes, agreeable to the express terms of his Catholic Majesty's proclamation.

CHARLESTON, January 28.

The legislature of this State adjourned on Wednesday last, *sine die*, after a short session of fifteen days.

The amendments to the constitution of the United States, recommended by Congress to the several state legislatures were discussed and adopted; and a resolution agreed to, that the delegates from this State be instructed to use every possible exertion to obtain the alteration which was recommended by the State convention in May, 1788, respecting the interference of Congress in regulating elections to the federal legislature.

BALTIMORE, January 29.

At the Anniversary Meeting of the REVOLUTION SOCIETY, held in London, (at the London Tavern) on the 4th of November last (the Right Honorable Earl STANHOPE in the Chair) the following Resolution was moved by the Reverend Doctor PRICE, and *unanimously* approved, *viz.*

The Society for commemorating the Revolution in Great-Britain, disdaining National Partialities, and rejoiceing in every Triumph of Liberty and Justice over Arbitrary Power, offer to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY of FRANCE, their Congratulations on the Revolution in that Country, and on the Prospect it gives to the two first Kingdoms in the World, of a common Participation in the Blessings of Civil and Religious Liberty; they cannot help adding their ardent Wishes for a happy Settlement of so important a Revolution, and at the same time expressing the particular satisfaction with which they reflect on the tendency of the glorious example given in France, to assert the unalienable Reformation in the Government of Europe, and to make the World FREE and HAPPY."

On the same Occasion, it was also *unanimously resolved*, "That the said Resolution be signed by the Chairman, in the Name of the Meeting, and that it be transmitted by him to the National Assembly of France."

PORTLAND, January 25.

To FARMERS.

"Experience has proved, that smoking your *Seed Corn*, thoroughly, before planting, will effectually prevent the worms or any other insect from touching it whilst growing. Care must be taken that it is not heated in the smoking lest it should destroy the vegetation. It will therefore be best to hang it where the smoke may gradually impregnate the kernel during the winter season.

"Probably the smoaking of other seeds may have the same happy effect. Should this be the case, it would save much labor and care in raising Squashes, Mellons, Cucumbers, &c.

A Friend to Agriculture."

BOSTON, Feb. 4.

AMENDMENTS.

The Amendments recommended by the Legislature of the United States, were adopted, except the *first* and *second* articles, by the Senate of this Commonwealth, on Friday last.

Tuesday the above Amendments were taken into consideration in the House of Representatives, and after mature discussion, were adopted, except the 1st, 2d and 12th.

The Senate afterwards concurred with the House in rejecting 12th article.

Mr. Thatcher, *Mr. Austin*, *Mr. Fowler*, of the Senate—*Mr. Hill*, *Mr. Goodman*, *Mr. Sewall* and *Mr. Bacon*, of the House, are appointed a joint committee, to take into consideration what further Amendments to the Federal Constitution are necessary to be proposed to Congress, and report.

NEW-YORK, Feb. 17.

Extract of a letter from Boston, Feb. 2.

"The Secretary's Report I think a most masterly performance—it must have cost him an immensity of study and application—I believe it will be generally acceptable when it is rightly understood—His reasoning upon the subject in general I think is incontestible, and should Congress adopt his plans, I think the time is not far distant, when the credit of this country will eclipse all the boasted powers of Europe."

A NEW MAGAZINE.

THE Public are respectfully informed, that the first Number of this Magazine will be published as soon as a number of subscribers sufficient to defray the expence shall be obtained: and not on the first day of February, 1790, as was formerly proposed.

This Work will be entitled,

THE PHILADELPHIA MAGAZINE,
AND
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

By a Society of Gentlemen.

PLAN AND CONDITIONS.

1st. THE objects of the Philadelphia Magazine and Universal Asylum, are to enlarge the understanding, to rectify the heart, and to please the fancy, by such means as may be best adapted to the state of society and manners in this confederated republic.

2d. Interesting and entertaining essays, in prose and verse, on philosophy, politics, commerce, agriculture, manufactures, polite learning, wit and humour (uncontaminated with ribaldry or licentiousness) and in a word, on all other subjects which may be deemed worthy of public attention, shall be inserted in this Universal Asylum of Literature.

3d. This miscellany shall contain much original matter; but a rage for originality *shall not prevent the insertion of valuable extracts from other publications.*

4th. A comprehensive and impartial abstract of the Debates and Proceedings of the Congress of the United States of America, *shall regularly be given, beginning with the first session under the present government.*

5th. Foreign and domestic occurrences shall be faithfully recorded.

6th. The Philadelphia Magazine shall be published, punctually, on the first day of every month.

7th. Each number shall contain eighty pages, octavo, on an elegant new letter, and fine paper.

8th. The price to subscribers will be two dollars and two-thirds per annum; *one dollar and one third to be paid upon the delivery of the first number, and the same sum at the commencement of every succeeding half year.*

Subscriptions are received by most of the Printers and Booksellers in the United States, and in other parts of the continent of America, in the West-Indies and in Europe, who are requested to forward the names of subscribers, with their titles, and places of residence.

The usual allowance will be made to all who favor this work by collecting subscriptions for it.

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 1, 1790.